

THE LIBERATOR.  
PUBLISHED EVERY FRIDAY, AT THE  
ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL.

Question.  
Sabbath Convention  
Boston, March 22d and  
W. Browne, Theodore  
Loring, Julia Mott, Parker  
John M. Spear; to  
the spirit of the Clergy  
embodying the views  
of the South, Barclay  
dale, Calhoun, Barclay  
top Whately, &c.  
The whole making a  
set of 168 pages. Price,  
one dollar; 2 1/2 per  
annum in progress should be  
one dollar, and to  
make up the deficiency, and to  
enable BELA MARSH,  
W. L. GARRISON, to  
continue his labors.

RE JOURNAL,  
OF REFORMS,  
D. EDITOR.  
is to explain, in a  
of all, the new and  
creatively, fast gaining in  
efficiency to cure and  
the healing art. This  
of particulars, all of  
general terms.

OF TREATMENT,  
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VANCE:

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LIERS & WELLS,  
STREET, NEW YORK.  
enced January, 1849.  
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are for these Journals.  
agent for Boston.

State Record,  
and III.  
N C H, 78 Washington  
in Attes.

information, The State  
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ATATIONARY,  
JAS. FRENCH,  
8 Washington street.

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ENDICOTT & SUM-  
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PERKINS,  
New England States,  
and most perfect

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PATENT  
DING.  
BOSTON,  
NEW YORK,  
PHILADELPHIA.

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T & GREENE,  
No. 2 Water street.

ORMERS, and  
to that neat, com-  
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particular place in Boston,  
Peace, Purity, Free-  
together, and enjoy

Washington st.  
JOHN M. SPEAR.

OFFICE.

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why it is so. Is it not because the materials for eloquence are so vast; because no wrong is so gigantic as slavery, no indifference so unpardonable as Northern insensibility to the federal sin of our common slaveholding; no appeal to God or man so backed by every sentiment of justice and mercy in our hearts, as that which pleads for three millions of oppressed brethren, those only that nail their skin?

There will be found in the extravagance, one-sidedness, and short-sightedness, the character of the speakers. But what causes it? Is it not the coldness and the deadness of the intelligent and influential portion of the North? It is true, all good men at the North call themselves now-a-days opposed to slavery. But what is the extent of their opposition? They are opposed to it in the abstract; opposed to it if it were a thing to be done over again; opposed to it, if they must take sides either way, (which they need not;) opposed to it so far as not directly to support it; but not opposed to it in the sense of taking any hearty interest in its removal; of giving any precious time to its contemplation, of feeling it their duty to enlighten all within their influence; not opposed to it in a way to give slaveholders any apprehension, or slaves any hope? If all the real practical anti-slavery feeling of the country, that which works for, studies, and means to consummate the emancipation of the slaves—all that ought to be diffused through the North—is shut up in the bosoms of a handful of men, must they not be expected to be red-hot—will there be room for any thing but anti-slavery feeling in their bosoms? Will moderation, distinction, refine, and other traits, that mark any place, their friends? No! the die-hard are determined to know nothing but Christ and him crucified, in a world that hated nothing so much; that the abolitionists seem to know nothing but the duty of standing by the slave, in a community that really is vastly indifferent to his condition and rights.

As we listened to these men, with a constant sense of their imperfect logic, partial truths, extravagance and injustice to others, we found the stone we had picked up to throw at them, dropping from a hand palmed by the recollection of the essential qualification for that office. 'Let him who is without sin cast the first stone!' No! the cruel silence of our pews, the frigid indifference of our men in place and power, the inefficiency of our ordinary neutrality, or our masterly inactivity, are all so much mener and less pardonable than the extravagance of men hurried or driven by the noblest sentiments of humanity into something like treason to the State, that we at least, though friends of law and order, would rather take our chance at Christ's bar with the Abolitionists, to avoid division, than with the Conservative who thinks himself to be nothing to do with the wrongs and sufferings of three millions of his fellow-creatures, fellow-citizens, and fellow-Christians.

The indifference of this community to the subject of emancipation is not to be ascribed, however falsely we may flatter ourselves, to the extravagance of its ultra advocates. At the meeting of the American and Foreign Society at the Tabernacle on Tuesday afternoon—a society which takes strict care to say nothing against the Constitution or the church, although we do not claim to know all good or decisive men in New York, we saw not one single face belonging to an influential member of society in this city, whether clerical or lay! And the Colonization Society, to which we hurried in the evening, determined to see the three forms of opposition to slavery on the same platform, on successive portions of the same day, had abandoned its meeting for want of interest—a lamentable commentary on the icy indifference of our community in a subject which should make the very stones cry out. Have not the abolitionists some apology for a fiery zeal and an absorbed devotion to the one theme of immediate abolition under circumstances like these?

The speakers of the occasion were Parker Pillsbury, Wendell Phillips, and Frederick Douglass. It was a general remark that the speakers were much less vituperative than formally, more candid in their estimate of others' motives, and more guarded in their charges and statements. Some resolutions were presented in favor of a separation from the Union; but the general understanding was that they meant nothing, seeing that their authors and proponents were to contribute voluntary to the support of the Federal Government, by taking letters from the Post Office, and paying duties at the Custom House, or buying goods that have paid such duties. With a little more resolution to leave off saying extravagant and foolish things because they have said them before, the speeches would have been throughout, as they were in the main, beneficial to the cause for which they were made. Let them once begin to concede to others the same right of independent judgment and action that they claim for themselves; let them admit that those who differ from Mr. Garrison and his friends shall enjoy the same privilege of being judged by the amount of good they do, as Mr. Garrison and his friends challenge for themselves; let them, in blaming the sects and parties for merging the individual into the mass, be careful that they show a model spirit of tolerance to those within or without their circle who do not think or act in all points with them; let them win confidence by showing confidence, and a spirit of eloquence of a Phillips and a Douglass will work wonders in the body of intellect and piety it addresses in the Tabernacle with a power that shall soon move the heart of the nation for the overthrow of Slavery. Let them lay their plans now to move the hand that molds the heart of the nation for the overthrow of Slavery. Why throw away the only power that can reach the object? Why destroy the sole instrumentality that can reach and rouse the conscience of the American people—the Pulpit and the Church?—*New York Independent.*

The public anniversary at Broadway Tabernacle, notwithstanding the rain and mud, which made us fear a thin house, was the largest meeting we have held in New York for years, if not the largest we have ever held, and seldom have we seen a more intelligent, serious and attentive audience. An almost breathless silence they received the important truths which were spoken. There was not rapturous and enthusiastic applause, but it seemed not from any want of feeling or sympathy with the speakers. The reason and hearts of the people were addressed, rather than their passions or mirth; they seemed to catch from the calm and deep-toned earnestness of the speakers an impression too serious for clamorous expression. The most ultra avowals of principle and stern denunciations of pro-slavery in Church and State were listened to without opposition or disturbance, if not with full approval. We felt, when the meeting separated, that many a heart had there received the leaven of freedom to carry to its home, and impart to its own society.—*Pennsylvania Freeman.*

From Douglass's North Star.

Parker Pillsbury, a veteran anti-slavery lecturer, who has probably toiled harder and longer than any other anti-slavery lecturer now in the field, made the first regular speech on the occasion. Mr. Pillsbury seldom speaks on anniversary occasions. A quiet, unassuming, but powerful man, he should never be allowed to remain silent when there is an opportunity to be heard. His remarks on this occasion were original, weighty, full and clear. He was listened to with marked attention. Though confronted by the imposing presence of a large body of divines; yet with his characteristic boldness, he subjected their American Church to a most thorough and biting exposure, quoting largely from documents emanating from the clergy. When his remarks were ended, no man of all the audience could remain silent, their silence fully ratifying the charges which Mr. P. so pointedly and powerfully brought against them.

Mr. Pillsbury was followed by Wendell Phillips, of Boston. He came upon the platform with his usual easy and majestic air. The audience appeared to expect much, and received all they expected. The man seemed to have been with his God, learning his duty from the lips of Deity. He spoke as if he stood alone in the world, despising utterly all the wisdom of men, trampling upon time-hallowed but worthless institutions, forgetting to conceal his real convictions in order to gain influence over those who differed from him. In the spirit of a true man, a follower of Christ, he rebuked all time-serving hypocrites, all weakers after influence, exclaiming that "God did not send him into the world to get influence, but to do his duty." He believed influence gained in any manner inconsistent with an honest discharge of duty, to be worthless. It is the faithful man, even without a single follower, that is the truly influential man. Mr. Phillips made a long speech, but he could not well have been shorter, to have done justice to his subject, or to have met the wishes of his audience. We have often heard Mr. Phillips

and sometimes when he was more eloquent than on the present occasion, but never when he was more truthful and earnest than at this time. The audience must have received a powerful impression from that speech.

The platform of this Anniversary was adorned by the usual array of anti-slavery faces. Francis Jackson, of Boston, George Birbeck, of Northampton, George T. Hopper, of New York, Edmund Quincy, of Dedham, Louis M. T. of Philadelphia, William W. Brown, of Boston, Abby Kelley Foster, S. S. Foster, and Rev. Samuel May, Jr., were among the most familiar. It was good to behold these earnest men and women, dead to the low moral standard of their times, indifferent to the smiles or frowns of the world, disregardful of the pitiful prejudice against color, which every where pervades the country, boldly reaching out the hand of manly assistance and brotherhood to our long neglected race.

William Lloyd Garrison had less to say on this occasion than usual for him; we learned that it was on account of the recent loss of a beloved son—a son's affliction in which, however, he does not suffer alone. The sincere condolence of every friend of the slave is with him and his dear family. The Anniversary was one of the most imposing and impressive that we have ever attended, and we have no doubt that it will be long remembered with sincere interest by the numerous anti-slavery friends who attended and participated in its celebration.

From the New York Christian Inquirer.

#### THE REFORM MEETINGS.

The meetings are of two classes—those for the promotion of the general interests of religion, and those devoted to humane reforms; and these meetings are as different in the character of the conductors and audiences, as in their method and spirit.

The platforms of the Reform Meetings are thinly sprinkled with a most mixed and motley crew of come-outers—men and women—Orthodox ministers, brokers for ecclesiastical intractability—Unitarian and Universalist ministers, not always in the best odor with their respective orders—venerable Friends in plain garments—or young Quaker girls under convictions of mind strong enough to overcome the natural shyness of maidenly reserve—colored men in affectionate proximity with their white-skinned brethren—all, in short, persons marked by evident enthusiasm of character and devotion to ideas.

The audience is not less marked. With a few exceptions, it is composed of the common people, not merely of well-dressed common people, but in considerable part of coarse, ill-clad, toll-soldied people—many, indeed, possessed independent, thoughtful, and honest faces, but many more attracted mainly by the popular character of the speaking. It is probable that three-quarters of the audience at these meetings are mere lovers of earnest talk or high debate—while the other quarter are zealous, thorough-going devotees to certain principles involved in the articles of the Society.

The method of conducting these meetings, again, is very different from that of the other class. There are prodigious freedom, zeal, and eloquence, great spontaneity and freshness, no appearance of wire-pulling, few cut-and-dried speeches—and a directness, reality, and earnestness, which engage everybody's attention and feelings, either for or against what is said. It is manifest at a glance, that there are a very few people, such as the world calls religious, present. The democracy of thought and feeling sends all the delegates, with the exception of a few who are there to spy out the land. All old-fashioned people, quiet, conservative, reserved, who think that Society and the Church, and Law and Order are something, stay away. The speaking is passionate, aggressive, offensive on principle—the speakers, it is manifest, are really committed to the principles on which they embrace them.

They are thorough, forcibly in earnest. The only abolitionists of any real account, those who keep up the agitation and produce the effects, the only ones which, as a class, occupy any sure and tenable ground, the ultra ones—who now go openly and heartily for disunion, and deride and decry the Church with might and main, would just as soon, judging from the spirit manifested, throw aside or trample on the Bible if they found it in their way, as on the Constitution. It is not respect for the Bible that makes them quote its authority, but because it is useful to their cause. Lucretius Mott said, indeed, she thought many Anti-Slavery documents quite as much to be revered as many portions of the Bible. We do not state this in the way of disparagement, but to give an idea of the way of disengagement, but to give an idea of the entire consecration of these people to the reform idea they take up. Thus we heard a young man, whose every word and motion indicated a vast energy, who also must go elsewhere to make room for him, who also must find productive labor for him, who also must be found for them, not being consumers. We have no hope of carrying this question by the slaveholders. The law of 1833 gives us the means of reaching the only class from whom help may be expected. The resolutions of Judge N. seem to look to this law as a means of emancipation. Again, I say, I regard it of no value in that view. I suppose it is on all hands conceded that vested rights shall be respected, as it is on all hands determined not to respect contingent rights. It is not intended to touch the slaves now in being, or in being at the time of the adoption of the plan of emancipation, without compensation to the owner. And I suppose it equally well settled, that we shall insist on the power to emancipate the *after-born*, without compensation.

Some gentlemen have said we ought to fight for everything, yet they give up 200,000 slaves upon the vested right. If they are, in truth, to go for every thing, who can lay his hand on his heart, and yield up 200,000 slaves? The slaves are held only in virtue of the positive law of the land; and full power is in the people, to whom the delegates to their representatives in convention, to alter or abolish all things not immutable or eternal! Our friends are in this difficulty. I think the most cool and reflecting here will see at once the necessity of taking some middle, natural, and just ground, which promises a reasonable hope of success. The third resolution in the series offered by Judge N. postpones any positive action on the subject to a future day—but not fixed. I regard it as indispensable that we assert and insist upon it as the very foundation of this matter, that when the question of slavery again comes within the power of the people, they shall not part with that power by any constitutional provision or enactment, until it is satisfactorily ascertained, that all the pacts, how they desire it to be settled.

I firmly believe, sir, that nothing has saved this glorious Union of the States, for the last twenty-five years, but the unbending, bold-headed obstinacy of Kentucky in her devotion to the confederacy. If ever Kentucky had gone with Mr. Calhoun, the Union would have been dissolved. She has preserved this glorious Union, and Heaven grant that she may long continue in her devotion to it, and in the power of the people to fix the as yet undecided men. But if ever division shall come, when God is in my favor, Kentucky cannot go with the South, nor can she go with the North. She must set up for herself.

For nearly thirty years, I have agitated the question of emancipation. I cannot be silent now. I shall continue to agitate it—not violently—but earnestly, while God lets me live.

I greatly doubt the policy of the fifth proposition in the resolutions of Judge N. for the submission of slavery separated from all other questions. Suppose the clause in regard to slavery be rejected, and the remainder of the Constitution be accepted. We have a new Constitution without a word in regard to the slave property. In such a state of things, what becomes of the slave? He is only held under the constitutional provision—there being no such provision, would he not be free? Two hundred thousand freed slaves in our midst! I cannot imagine a more deplorable calamity than the State. Suppose, on the other hand, the separate clause be accepted, and the Constitution referred to slavery—but the Constitution for freedom. If it is adopted as part of the Constitution, we may unite with the friends of the other reforms in the Constitution, and carry it; but if it be submitted separately, it must have friends enough of itself to carry it, or it fails. I confess, I cannot see how, or in what view of it, we are to gain any thing. On the contrary, it seems to me that we shall lose in every aspect of the case.

I have been pained to hear several allusions to party in the course of this debate. I have always been identified with what is known as the Whig party; but I never would, even in my party, give up my opinions to belong to any party. If the party chose to believe with me, well enough; but I never sacrifice an opinion to agree with them. And I would prefer, now, to give the Democratic party power for two thousand years, than let this question fail. I regard emancipation as the great question of the day. I look upon slavery as wrong—as a great evil, which is weighing down my country, and I will readily sacrifice all but honor to rid my country of it.

—*Speeches of Cassius M. Clay and Rev. R. J. Breckinridge.*

At a late State Convention of the Friends of Emancipation in Kentucky:—

C. M. Clay, of Madison, remarked, that he had not trespassed on the platform of the Convention. I know said that he not only here, but elsewhere, I am characterized as impulsive, hot-headed, reckless, and passionate. I knew and felt, that there was, even here, a soreness, an unwillingness to hear me, though I had made so many sacrifices for the cause, and had fought for it, in my own humble way, so many battles. I say I was conscious of that feeling here, and therefore felt disinclined to say anything at all. I differed from the majority of the committee on the resolutions reported, but in deference to the judgment of the committee, I forbore to say anything against the report, but openly, here in my place, gave in my adhesion. It was a very large committee—one from each county represented. They sat in council four or five hours. There was, in the course of the day, a full, frank, and candid interchange of opinion. The report of the committee is the result of that free consultation. It has been reported, and is now in the hands of the Convention. We friends are willing to take your compromise.

—*Speeches of Cassius M. Clay and Rev. R. J. Breckinridge.*

BOSTON, MAY 25, 1849.

#### The Liberator.

BOSTON, MAY 25, 1849.

#### No Union with Slaveholders!

#### NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The annual meeting of this Convention will be held

The wide reputation of this Convention as the most

interesting and enthusiastic of all the anti-slavery

gatherings held in the country during the year—the

solemn and heaven-attested pledges of the friends of

those who are yet pining in bondage—the critical

state of our cause, in regard to the establishment of

slavery on the soil of California and New Mexico, and

to the Southern design of securing the annexation of

Cuba to the United States—the remembrances of the

strengthening interviews obtained at previous meet-

ings, and the powerful impetus given to the ear of

freedom by each anniversary successively—and the

importance of making a short work in righteously

of the last Legislature, in the leading

the bill to be passed, and to be sent to the

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LETTER FROM DR. A. BROOKS OF OHIO.

OAKLAND, (Ohio,) May 14, 1849.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

In common with your numerous readers, I have been deeply interested and instructed by the letters of your trans-atlantic correspondent, who writes over the signature of Edward Search. Some passages in the two last which have fallen under my notice have inspired a wish to offer a few thoughts for your column, less with the expectation that they will alter the views of one occupying his exalted intellectual position, than with the hope that they may not fail entirely unfriendly to the ground by presentation to the various classes of minds who read the Liberator.

In his letter of March 27th he says—'My interest

is in what is passing with you is kept up by the recollection that your Union is the greatest evidence that man can govern himself!'

How erroneous is the idea that man

can govern himself!—as though

within this massive

mass of the people, the inhabitants

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few strength-

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fact that they are

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## Selections.

From the Bristol (Eng.) Mirror, April 21.  
EXECUTION OF SARAH H. THOMAS.  
CONFESSION OF THE CRIMINAL.

SPRING SONNETE.  
BY MRS. M. N. M'DONALD.  
April hath come again, capricious child,  
Half smiles, half tears, of the rejoicing Spring,  
When singing birds return on buoyant wing,  
And pour glad melodies through wood and wild,  
Bright gleams of sunshine rain-drops brief and mild,  
Make green the pathways 'neath our eager feet,  
And shouts the merry school-boy, if he greet  
The first pale, dewy spring-flower, which hath smiled.  
The fair young flowers, they come, half shrinking up,  
Like timid children, with their soft moist eyes,  
Lifting each tinted leaf and peary cup,  
In modest beauty to the titillate skies,  
Now wet with hasty and impatient showers,  
Now bathed in sunny light, the fair, young, trembling flowers.

IL  
Soft to my casement steals the gentle air,  
Freighted with odors from far southern shores,  
With breath of rose and lily, blooming where  
The glad Spring earliest yields her fragrant stores;  
Unto the river of the boundless deep  
It hath a welcome tale of fields and woods,  
And a low cot, round which those breezes sweep,  
His distant home beyond the surging floods.  
The pale consumptive drinks its healing balm,  
While Hope, sweet siren, whispers that again  
Shall rosy Heath those throbbing pulses calm,  
And speaks of life and Summer—rain, how wain!  
A few brief days, and fragrant winds are sighing  
Over a grassy mound, where a loved form is lying.

III.  
Spring-time, sweet harbinger of leaves and flowers,  
When Nature wakes, and earth renews her bloom;  
Why to my heart, with thy returning hours,  
Come the dim, gathering shadows of the tomb?  
Why with thy brightness dath a dream of sorrow  
Back to my bosom in its freshness lie?  
Why from the Past may penitent Memory borrow  
A fearful grief, a thought of agony?  
Amid thy circling hours, fond eyes were hidden  
From the soft beauty of the smiling day;  
And with thy bloom sweet Spring-time comes unbidden.

A thought of death, of darkness, and decay.  
Thy voice from out the dust pale flowers may bring,  
But not the dead restore, o'er fair, rejoicing Spring!

## FREEDOM OF THE MIND.

Free is the eagle's wing,  
Cleaving the sun's warm ray;  
Free is the mountain spring,  
As it rushes forth to-day.  
But free for the mind—  
Priceless its liberty;  
No hand must dare to bind—  
God made it to be free!

You may claim the eagle's wing,  
No more on clouds to soar;  
You may seal the mountain spring,  
That is leap to light no more.  
But the mind lone dare chain—  
Better it cease to be!  
Born not to serve, but reign—  
God made it to be free!

Free is the mountain breeze,  
Floating from airy height;  
Free are the rushing seas,  
And free heaven's golden light.  
But free than light or air,  
Or the ever-rolling sea,  
Is the mind, beyond compare—  
God made it to be free!

Then guard the gem divine,  
Than gems or gold more rare;  
Keep watch o'er the sacred shrine,  
No fear must enter there;  
Oh, let not error bind,  
Nor passions reign o'er thee;  
Keep the freedom of the mind—  
God made it to be free!

LIFE WITHOUT LOVE.  
Life without love! 'T were indeed  
A being all unblest—  
A garden, rife'd of its flowers,  
In wild weeds rudely dress'd;  
A solitude within the heart,  
Uncheered by aught below—  
A desert of the mind, in which  
No springs of pleasure flow.

Life without love! 'Twere like a ship,  
Its rudder lost at sea—  
Without Hope's anchor for the soul,  
Or charm for memory,  
A vision cast in shadows—thrown  
Upon a tempest wave;  
Born onward by the eddying tide  
Into oblivion's grave.

Life without love! Oh! it would be  
A world without a sun—  
Cold as the snow-capped mountains, dark  
As myriad nights in one.  
A barren scene, without one spot  
Of green amidst the waste—  
Without one blossom of delight,  
Of feeling or of taste.

Life without love! 'T were not for one  
With heart so warm as thine,  
Where sweet affections make their home  
Within its hallowed shrine—  
Where kindly thoughts forever flow,  
And social feelings dwell,  
'Mid good or ill; 'mid weal or woe,  
The welcome or farewell.

RINCIK'S EVENING HYMN.  
The gaudy day is dying!  
The hours of evening dying,  
Chase earthly cares away;  
Awhile soft twilight lingers,  
Till night, with dewy fingers,  
Shall close the weary eye of day.  
No cares disturb our sleeping,  
Our souls are in thy keeping,  
Our hearts repose on thee;  
For thou wilt ne'er forsake us,  
Whether the dawn awake us,  
Here, or in blessed eternity.

Oh let us, ere we slumber,  
Heaven's bounties try to number,  
Too great for tongue to tell;  
Our grateful hearts confessing,  
With each recounted blessing,  
That God had ordered all things well.

No cares disturb, &c.

LOVE.  
Without star or angel for their guide,  
Who worship God shall find Him. Humble love,  
And not proud reason, keeps the door of heaven;  
Love finds admission, where profound science fails.

LOVE.  
Lord, 'tis thy hand that guides us,  
And with all good provides us;  
Through this our pilgrimage;  
Oh! be our praise unceasing,  
Our love each day increasing,  
To life's remrest and rest stage.  
No cares disturb, &c.

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